2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

361 acquainted, and a description of it in this place will suffice for all. It consisted, I should say, of four hundred tents, and covered a space of six or seven acres. In the center of the village was a capacious square, perhaps one acre, and in the center of the square stood a lodge, the largest in the town, being the business tent of the civil chief. Around the square the wigwams were arranged with great particularity. Leading into it on the four sides were regularly laid out streets, the tents standing in line on both sides. Those of
[354] the principal men were the largest, and fronted the square; those of their inferiors, according to their rank, diminishing in size, and extending backwards.

● 342 The tents are constructed of prepared buffalo skins, the flesh side outward, and, from a distance, an Indian town like this, to the eye of a white man, is novel and attractive. The manner of their construction is as follows: Poles, from ten to twenty feet in length, are driven diagonally into the ground in the line of a circle, at the distance of three or four feet from each other, and at such an angle that their tops will nearly meet. These poles serve the purpose of rafters over which the buffalo hides, firmly sewed together, are drawn and fastened by stakes on the ground, thus forming an impervious cone. The door does not turn on hinges, but is simply an extra pelt, fastened at the top, with a heavy weight at the bottom, and which, when raised or turned aside sufficiently to admit an entrance within, falls directly and closely to its place. Around the outside is dug a narrow and deep ditch, rendering the floor dry and hard,
[354] and the smoke of the fire, which is always kindled in the center of the wigwam, escapes through a hole at the apex.
361 These villages are always located near running water, and in thinly timbered groves, which break the force of the

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Drying meat
Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society Museum

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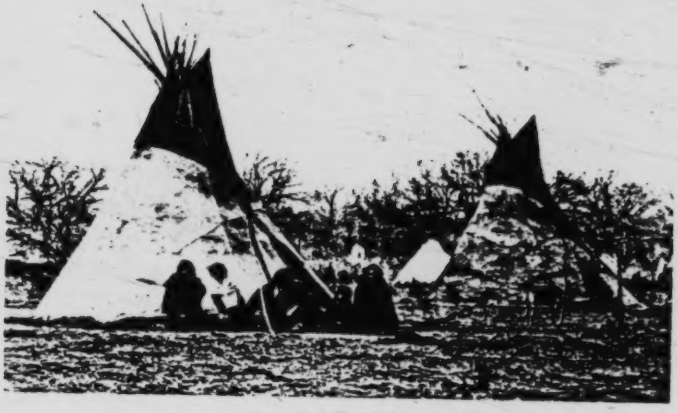

A Comanche camp, about 1870
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[FACING p. 78]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

A dugout in the Comanche country in 1892
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 79]

The Comanches

291 and easy to wear. Although there were variations to suit the individual taste and needs, the general pattern remained fairly uniform. A Comanche woman in motion was a graceful sight, with the gorgeous fringes swaying with every movement and the brilliant patterns of beading glittering in the sunlight or firelight.

302 The woman wore her hair cropped and traced the part line with vermilion, although she seldom went to the trouble of combing or otherwise caring for her hair; it just hung loose. The care that did not go into her hair was devoted to facial make-up. Her eyes were accentuated with red or yellow lines above and below the lids and sometimes crossing at the corners. Her ears were painted red inside, and both cheeks were daubed with a solid red-orange circle or triangle. [301 She also occasionally tattooed her face and breast, and wore bracelets 304] and necklaces. As a parallel to the strong institutional friendship be- [572] tween two men, two Comanche women friends might dress alike.

291 Little girls, unlike small boys, always wore some form of clothing. A girl wore a breechclout until near the age of puberty, when she donned the buckskin dress. She wore her hair long and in plaits.

292 Fine clothes were so prized for dressing up that each Comanche 415 had a wardrobe case made of rawhide, called *nat'sakɜna*. It was envelope-shaped, laced together at the edges, and had a tie-down, fold-over flap. Thus it was different from the parfleche, or *ɔyɔ:t*, as the Comanche called the meat bag. In his case he kept his best suit, his leggings, moccasins, blanket, and braid wrappers. It was up to his mother to care for his wardrobe.

If he had a war bonnet or feathers, they were kept separately in a tubular bag, called *tunawɔs*, that could be slung from his waist as he rode his horse, so that they could be ready for instant donning in case of attack. In this bag was also carried war paint, a brush, and a mirror after mirrors became available. If the occasion arose, a Comanche wanted to look his best.

342 Home to the Comanche was his tipi, or conical skin dwelling. It represented a wonderful combination of utility and portability, for it could be raised or lowered within minutes. It was constructed of tanned buffalo hides sewed together and stretched, flesh side out, over a conical framework of from twelve to thirty poles. The standard number in the opinion of modern Comanches was twenty-two poles.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

The poles were long, straight, and slender, usually of pine or cedar, peeled, seasoned, and pared down to a suitable diameter. They were sometimes pointed at the butt to prevent slipping on the ground. They varied in length from ten to twenty feet, depending on the size tipi desired. Robert G. Carter observed that hundreds of Antelope band poles were of cedar, approximately fourteen feet in length.[32]

Like the Blackfeet, Shoshones, Utes, Crows, Hidastas, Omahas, and others, the Comanches used four poles as a foundation. Many tribes, including the Cheyennes, Gros Ventres, Arapahos, Pawnees, and Kiowas, on the other hand, used a three-pole foundation. The projecting tops of the poles of a tipi erected on a three-pole foundation have a spiral appearance, while the four-pole base tends to group them on the sides. It seems evident from the fact that the Comanches used a four-pole foundation like the Shoshones, Utes, and other northern tribes, instead of the three-pole foundation of the Kiowas, Pawnees, and other southern neighbors, that they first adopted the tipi while still in their northern environment.

In erecting the tipi, the four poles were first tied together near the top and set upright. The butt ends of the poles were then pulled out and evenly spaced in a circle. Against this foundation were stacked the remaining poles, all tied together near the top with thongs of buffalo hide. They were set diagonally into the ground, as deep as two or more feet for a permanent dwelling, and three to four feet apart in a circle. Greater security was sometimes obtained by means of short stakes set at an angle across the lodge poles a few inches above the ground. A tipi thus set would withstand most of the strong winds that swept frequently across the High Plains.

The poles served as rafters. Buffalo hides, carefully fitted and firmly sewed together with sinew, were hoisted with a single pole from inside the framework. Women standing on each other's shoulders fastened the covering at the top. The covering was pinned up the front with wooden skewers the size of a lead pencil. From ten to seventeen buffalo hides were required to make a covering for the usual lodge, and rarely was a tipi larger than twenty skins, even if as many as twenty people were sheltered within. This number compares with an estimated average of fourteen and a maximum of

[32] Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 197; Lee, *op. cit.*, 128.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

342 eighteen to twenty for the Crow tipi.[33] For the purpose of lodge-making, the hides of old buffalo cows, just shedding the winter coat in April or May, were preferred. These hides were supposed to be the easiest to tan, possibly, it is said, because the old cows were then thin in flesh and their hides thicker and hence more easily worked. The average tipi was twelve to fifteen feet in diameter across the floor. The height from the center of the floor to the peak was approximately the same as the diameter of the floor.

The tipi was tilted slightly backwards. The smoke-hole near the top, above the entrance, was made by folding the skins back or attaching flaps in such a way as to give the appearance of the lapels on a man's coat. Each flap was adjusted by means of an attached outside pole. By moving one or both of the poles, the prevailing wind could be shut out, and at most times a draft of air could be created to carry off the smoke from the fire directly beneath. Thus the smoke-
[354] hole and flaps served somewhat like a chimney.

The door, which always faced the rising sun, was simply an opening three or four feet high, covered by an extra pelt, tanned stiff. It was fastened either on the windward side or at the top, with a weight attached to the bottom. Either method provided a self-closing door.

The covering was staked down, but in warm weather it was not completely drawn to the ground, an air space of several inches being left all around. This space, together with the opening at the top, provided perfect ventilation. In cold weather the covering could be drawn completely to the ground. To keep the continual draft blowing in all around the bottom of the tent from striking those inside, a buffalo skin lining, in later times called a "dew cloth," was fastened to the lodge poles from four to six feet above the ground. The lining hung down inside the poles and was tucked under the edge of the bed. Consequently the air coming in under the outer covering was deflected upward by the lining and never struck the occupants directly. The lining also prevented rain entering the smoke-hole from falling on the bed and provided insulation against the penetrating summer heat. A very small fire was all that was necessary to provide warmth even in extremely cold weather. A narrow ditch around the outside kept the floor dry.

[33] Lowie, *The Crow Indians*, 87.

Food, Clothing, and Dwellings

Compared to a good tipi, the shack of the frontiersman was a poor makeshift. The tipi shed wind and water and was warm and well ventilated. It could be set up within fifteen minutes and could be struck in less time. In hot weather the cooking was done outside. Actually, during much of the summer and autumn little shelter was really needed. In the permanent camp a brush arbor was often erected in hot weather, under which the entire family or groups of families found refuge from the summer heat. The roof was flat and made of leafy boughs supported by posts seven or eight feet high. The sides were left open to permit full benefit from the breeze. Most Comanches today, even those who have substantial houses, build brush arbors in their yards for lounging and summer sleeping. (There are no bedbugs in the arbors.) Arbors of hooped saplings reminiscent of Shoshone wickiups were also used.

Some owners painted their tipis with a number of encircling stripes and with geometric designs on both the lining and the outside cover. The average tipi, however, did not have the added touch of the artist.

The furnishing of a tipi was like all else in Comanche economic life—simple and highly adapted to mobility. Devices for comfort were a comparatively modern innovation, since it is inconceivable that in the days when the Indians were foot travelers and carried most of their possessions on their backs they would load themselves down with luxuries. In the center of the tipi a round hole was dug for the fire. It has been contended that the only difference in a Kiowa and a Comanche camp was in the fire-hole. The Comanches made their fire-hole about fifteen inches in diameter, while the Kiowas made theirs about two feet.[84]

Before the arrival of the white man, the Comanches produced fire by means of the fire drill. The method consisted of hand twirling a hard stick, held vertically in a hole in a horizontal block of softer material, until the heat ignited the Spanish-moss tinder or birds' nests packed about the hole. Fire drills were kept in cases of buffalo horn, called *na'a:*. Flint and steel for fire-making were among the first articles introduced by Mexican traders. After the introduction of gun powder, the Comanches found that a fire could be started more quick-

[84] Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 57.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Quanah Parker and one of his wives, in 1892
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[FACING p. 238]

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

342 The Comanche tipi represented a wonderful combination of utility and portability. A dozen or more slender poles were tied together at the top and set up so as to form the frame-work of an irregular cone of such diameter as the material at hand and the size of the family made practicable. This framework was covered with buffalo hides, flesh side out, and offered excellent shelter, while an opening and flap at the top assured ventilation. The flap could always be adjusted so that the opening was protected from the prevailing wind on the same principle that ventilators on our modern buildings are constructed so as to shift with the wind. Recently the writer spent a hot August evening in a Comanche tipi constructed along traditional lines except that canvas rather buffalo hides served for covering. There was no smoke and the place was comfortably cool, notwithstanding the small fire in the center. Close examination re- [354] vealed the fact that the covering was not drawn completely to the ground, but that instead an air space of several inches was left all around. This, together with the opening at the top, made for perfect ventilation. Had the night been cold, the canvas could have been drawn completely to the ground, thus sacrificing ventilation to comfort.

648 The Comanches were a nomadic people and as late as 1850 a 619 wandering band might be found in the valley of the Platte or in [361] the plains of Durango, fifteen hundred miles further south. There was not a single Comanche tribe, but rather several distinct tribes, having but few relations the one with the other. The Penatekas, were the southernmost band or tribe and are most often heard of in the history of Texas. Occasionally they got in touch with the northern bands when the latter came down to the Brazos or Clear Fork to spend the winter or when some of the young men of the different bands, joined perhaps by their allies the Kiowas, put out for the Mexican border for a joint raid. Sometimes the Penatekas [578] were even in a state of war with their northern kinsmen. Naturally when the chiefs of a given band made a treaty it was binding only on their immediate followers. Hence, their kinsmen who lived afar off were likely to ignore it even if they should hear of it. Furthermore, the nomadic habits of the Indians and the resultant divisions and subdivisions of the bands into small parties away from responsible leaders made it impossible for the chiefs to control their

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

ing to more than $166,000 had been made under the provisions of the act. By this means many of the young Comanches are being induced to utilize their allotments. The loans were being repaid on schedule in 1945.[26]

The government policy of making farmers of the Indians has not succeeded as well as might be desired. The Indians have not become farmers in great numbers, many preferring to lease their land rather than use it themselves. They cultivated little more than 10 per cent of the trust lands in 1945. The trust system is fast creating a new problem. With the increase in the number of heirs, the tracts become too small for economic efficiency. Consequently, the heirs tend to lease the land and divide the rentals. Yet, among the Comanches there are a number of excellent farmers. There should be more and more as young people, leaving public schools with training in vocational agriculture, seek to find a place in the new society.

In general, the economic condition of the Comanches in the early 1940's was good. The 1600 Indian families of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency for the fiscal year 1944 had an estimated total income of $2,452,897,[27] or about $1533 per family. Since there were no land or tax payments and likely only very small installments on home and improvements to deduct, the amount compared favorably with that of other rural families of the South and Southwest.

A fairly regular income extending over a period of years has enabled the Comanches to build and furnish comfortable homes, erect good barns, and to make other improvements. In 1876 the agency built homes for the leading chiefs who were friendly to the government. Although the owner of a new home may have camped in the yard and used the house to shelter his stock, he was proud of it for it enhanced his prestige. Children enjoyed whooping in the empty rooms

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26. Scott B. Moore (director Kiowa-Comanche Agency leases and farm loans) to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

27. McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945. The income for the year was broken down thus: farming, $491,470; leases, $830,866; social security assistance, $22,644; relief, $5,230; wages, $907,153 (1943); service men dependent allotments, $194,100; miscellaneous, $2,506.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

to hear the echoes, and one boy asked his mother to make him a bed in the fireplace that he might look up the chimney at the stars. Only 27 Comanche families were living in houses in 1886, and in 1901 the majority of the 3,713 Indians of the reservation lived in tents, tipis, and in small boxed houses along the streams. Water was obtained from running streams and bedding was filthy; there were no screens on the houses, no toilets, and no effort was made to have clean, wholesome food.

After allotments were made, home building increased rapidly. The Indians received payment for their ceded lands and realized that they must cease to wander. White neighbors soon had homes on the tracts they had taken and this stimulated a desire on the part of some families to imitate. It has been stated previously that whites who leased Indian lands for a five-year period were required to erect and leave a three-room house on each allotment. Each year new houses went up; in 1930 twenty-one were built at an average cost of $1,636.22. By that time 90 per cent of the Indian families had good frame homes with sanitary toilets and other outbuildings.[28]

The homes compare to an advantage with the rural homes of white neighbors. Superintendent Buntin in his 1930 report estimated that the value of home furniture averaged slightly more than $300. A few Comanche homes presently are large and clean, are beautifully carpeted and furnished, and have running water, gas, electricity, and occasionally a good library. Since 1930 few families have lived in tipis or tents. But partly due to the depression and later war-time restrictions and partly due to the increasing number of landless heirs, home construction has not kept pace with the increase in the number of families. Since young married couples no longer have land and lease-money, they tend to live with parents.

The Extension Service has sought to improve the standards of home life. It enrolled 525 new members in Indian wo-

28. Buntin, *op. cit.*, ms. II, 88, 14.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

men's clubs in 1935. During the same year the gardening and food preservation clubs preserved enough to have supplied every Indian family of the agency with more than 100 quarts of canned fruits, plus 37 pounds of dried fruits and vegetables, with 8½ pounds of cured meat. Child welfare clubs made clothes, studied infant care, and dealt with the problem of child health. Home improvement clubs screened homes, made curtains, planted trees, flowers, and shrubs, and dug cellars for the storage of food. Foods nutrition clubs prepared under supervision 3,678 dishes during the year. 4-H Club members canned 837 quarts of food, made 1,183 pieces of clothing, and won two first places and a second place at the state fair.[29]

* * * *

Schools for the education of the Indian children of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency have been of three kinds: government boarding, mission, and state public. The government boarding school pioneered the educational program, provided a vocational training curriculum, and in recent years has become the school for orphans and the destitute. Since the government never intended to establish special schools for all the children, the mission schools rendered invaluable aid during the years preceding the opening of the public schools to them. The majority of children now attend public schools.

The Treaty of Medicine Lodge obligated the federal government to provide instruction for the Indians of the reservation. Congress appropriated a very modest sum for that purpose in 1870, and in the same year Josiah Butler and wife obtained permission to establish an agency school. On February 20, 1871, Butler and his wife opened the first school on the reservation in a thirty by sixty foot building located on the present site of Fort Sill Indian School, with four pupils, all Comanches, in attendance. Butler continued the school until June 27, 1873, but found it very difficult to enforce discipline.[30]

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29. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935, 16-24.
30. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 220.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[Co. 1818]

157 than any other people whatever. Foppery in all its con-
175 temptible gradations, of dress, deportment and mental noth-
ingness and insipidity is the prevailing characteristic of the young men. An Indian Dandy would, to be sure, be an amusing *unique* in the circles of fashion; but if you could transport a full dressed Comanchee buck into a coterie of our most exquisite "Delectables," my word for it, he would eclipse them in all the essential properties of that profession. The squaws from the infancy are too completely servile to bestow either time or solicitude on the ornaments
175 of person. The men are large, and well proportioned and
142 generally, good looking—the women, as much the reverse as human nature will bear. As a nation, they think them-
175 selves the most numerous and powerful on earth—and will
186 listen with incredulous wonderment to a recital of facts that controul this flattering opinion.—So true is it that ignorance and vanity are inseparably allied.

175 The Comanchees do not cultivate the earth, but subsist
224 for the most part on the erratic Buffaloes which descend
136 into their district in the fall, in pursuit of a verdant herbage, and return in the spring, (such of them as survive the depredations of their numerous biped enemies) to their northern range. It has been remarked that the number of Buffaloes that annually reach the regions inhabited by the Co-
000 manchees, has sensibly diminished within a few years. In the event of a serious failure of that munificent provision of nature, these and other tribes of similar habits, will be compelled to resort to agriculture, or to recede northwardly
[461] in pursuit of their ancient prey. The former of these alternatives would be difficult of adoption, on account of their native inertness and aversion to labor; and the latter would probably be rendered impracticable by the jealousy of other tribes, who already occupy the northern wilds.

175 These wandering savages have made but small ad-
342 vances in the domestic arts. Their lodges or tents, are
[237] formed of Buffaloe hides dressed to a suitable consistency, and erected on poles, in the shape of an elongated cone, having an aperture at the top to emit the smoke, which purpose it answers but very imperfectly. They are exces-

21: Burnet T 5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

sively uncomfortable in cold or wet weather, and are at best but miserable shelters. The interior furniture consists altogether of the skins of different animals, principally Buffaloe robes, which are spread on the ground, and compose their beds, bedding and all. They use neither chairs, stools, nor tables. In the culinary art they have improved but little upon the most obvious suggestions of nature, and are exceedingly filthy and loathsome in all their household economy. They have no cooking utensils of their own construction, and prefer copper kettles on account of their being easily portable and not subject to fracture. They mostly boil their meat, but sometimes broil it on the coals or roast it on spits. During the summer months they often suffer intensely by hunger, purely from defect of art, and frugality in husbanding their means of subsistence. Whole villages are sometimes three or four days without a particle of animal or vegetables food. Their sufferings are borne in common, and if one hunter is more fortunate than the rest, his game is distributed gratuitously through the whole village. In times of scarcity the men hold it a matter of conscience and pride, to sustain the severest portion of the general privations, and to bear them without murmuring. And indeed they manifest a capacity for enduring abstinence, that would almost lead one to imagine nature had furnished their organic system with a peculiar adaptation to the various contingencies of their existence. When meat is abundant, they gorge and gormandize most voraciously, without experiencing any subsequent inconvenience; and when it is scarce, then endure hunger with singular patience, and comparatively trivial relaxation of the animal functions. Habit is capable of controlling both mind and matter. Being accustomed to pursue their game altogether on horseback, they seldom obtain any other than the Buffaloes, of which they usually have an adequate supply during the cold months, from November to March. They reserve but little from the winter's profusion to supply the scarcity of summer, having no other mode of preventing putrefaction, than by cutting the meat into very thin slices, and exposing it to the sun until it is entirely desicated by exhalation. As you may

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

175 With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
178 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
224 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
[789] supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
621 istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
[222] sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

175 The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
178 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
[847] and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
[727] numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
562 war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
593 as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
[304] culture, came into practice.

175 Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
178 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
771 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
[776] ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
715 Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
[776] of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
715 fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
794 culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
578 Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
721 the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
796 simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

175 The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
171 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
629 Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
575 groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
796 Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
291 a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills, and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

72 By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
[22] on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

white man's eyes. Sanapia remembers this point well, for it was she, as her mother's favorite daughter, who was called upon to take her mother to the nearby towns and act as interpreter. 115 159 177 593 191

> Lots of times I would be playing or something and I have to go with her . . . speak for her. I tell her, "You can talk English good, why do I have to talk for you?" She just tell me to come on. She said that when the white mans learn Comanche talk, she would learn white man language. She was real stubborn, I guess you would say, about things like that. You know, one time my father put these little napkin rings like they used at school on our table and he told us kids to use them. Well, my mother got them and put bead work on them with each our name on each one. My father got mad at that, but my mother told him that she wasn't no white man, she was Indian. They would talk like that a lot but they stay together till they both dead. They have some run-ins though. Like once I come back from school with these button-top shoes. My mother made me take them off because she said they would cripple my feet. My grandmother told me that too. But my father liked them and made me wear them. I thought they looked good, you know, but they hurt if you wear them long enough. I go barefoot a lot when I was a real young woman. 115 159 177 593

According to Sanapia's memory, her father never took issue with the mother's doctoring activities or her involvement with the peyotists. From Sanapia's stories of childhood it seems that it was the mother who would react violently against the father's attempt to introduce elements of white culture into the home. The father apparently never directly attacked the conservative Comanche ways but preferred to ignore them, withdraw from them, or illustrate how the white man's "road" was superior.

Sanapia's memories of her maternal grandmother are the fondest and most elaborated. It was this grandmother who took the greatest hand in rearing the children, though the father and mother acted as final authorities. It was also this grandmother who continually emphasized to Sanapia the importance of remembering the old ways and old stories, even suggesting that she keep a diary or journal of her life. 115 159 603 177

> My grandmother was just a little bitty woman. She stayed in her tepee south of the house because she didn't like houses. She said that they good for keeping dogs and horses and that's all. A lot of old peoples would used to joke like that. She sure was good to me . . . take care of me all the time when I was just a small girl. She wrap me in her blanket when I was little, even when I get to be five years old . . . pretty big girl by then . . . and she carry me around. She said, "I want you to save your feet, don't let your legs get tired because you got a long time to live." She carry me around down on the creek, doing nothing, until I get tired and then she take me back to her tent. She rocks me to sleep and if I wake up way in the night, she would give me a meat ball . . . pound meat with sugar on it. Then she poke up the fire and tell me old stories. She told me how to make real old time Indian bags out of this softest buckskin so I could carry around my own little meat balls in there. Bag looks like a flat bag sort of is the kind of one I had. She tell me always to remember what she tells me and I did. She tell me that I should write it down, but at that time I didn't even know what writing is, but my grandma did. She tell me that a lot of white people would come into our country. That was even before I seen a lot of white [342] 115 159 603 855 [258] [415]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

883 ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to
177 have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

[241] In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls
562 in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo
191 which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary
[123] occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

124 I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the
[122] language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation.
[198] But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also con-
871 ceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice.
[17] Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children
871 had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat
177 in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork,
178 and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

352 In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or
264 a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

513 Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on plat-
[342] forms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with
342 poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

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set of tepee poles, twenty-two in number, left from the old days. Now they were covered with canvas.

The government had built a small box house, generally fourteen by twenty-eight feet, at most family camps, but it could hardly accommodate the multiple-wife family, still in vogue. Mostly it was the camp's storage house, an out-of-the-weather place for saddles, harness, horse feed and medicine, and the women's sewing machine.

I almost never knew one of the Carlisle Comanches, man or boy, to take a job. There were riding jobs on the ranches, and many merchants would have been glad to hire a Comanche clerk. Old Indians with horse herds were forced to hire white broncobusters to break their horses. I asked an Indian father once, in my ignorance, why he was paying to have his horses ridden, and added the naïve qestion, "Don't your boys like to break horses to ride?" In our Scottish household I had never heard the words tact and diplomacy.

The old fellow gave a snort of disgust and replied, partly in sign language and partly in words, "They more like riding sitting-down-walking," that is to say, riding a bicycle.

The question had been crude on my part, and I should have been pulled up short for my brashness. But I was all excited, thinking what a wonderful lot of fun it would be to gentle and ride those ponies. I had actually helped do it on the farm with wild horses from Oregon. I knew there was a better way to break a horse to ride than to throw a saddle on a wild horse, climb on, and spur him until he was exhausted from bucking.

Just a little time spent gentling a horse pays big dividends. Let him wear a saddle while he is tied snugly to a post or in a stall. Then, when you first ride him do not use your spurs. We first taught a horse to lead while wearing a saddle. Then, the first few times we rode him we had someone on a strong, gentle horse keep the wild horse's head snubbed close to the other's saddle horn and lead him.

Indian boys had nothing but time. Tribal custom had been to require no menial tasks from boys as they grew up: "Pretty soon be warrior, may-be-so die." But in the old days, the boy was expected to work with the horses, herd them, learn to train them, and become an expert horseman. From my observations, the Carlisle boys were interested in horses only when they wanted to ride somewhere. Had they seen fit to gentle and break their fathers' horses, they would have had much more salable animals.

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one wife was purchased. Sisters often trained themselves so that they could be wives of the same man, one learning to be a good horsewoman and the other to be expert in the tanning of hides and making of clothes, one complementing the other, in the hope that they might be purchased at the same time and so remain together.

If, in due time, there came to be need of a third wife, the rule was that she be young and healthy, capable of taking over the burdens of the older women. When the young wife bore a baby for the camp there was rejoicing, not only by the husband but by the other wives as well. This was especially true if it was a boy baby. (This part appealed to me. Just think of a family life where they never ran out of babies!)

I never once saw an older wife scold or mistreat the child of another wife. In fact, I never saw a Comanche woman mistreat any woman's child. It was no uncommon sight to see one wife caring for the children, while the other wife or wives were working, say, at hauling up wood for the camp.

At the time when I knew them, the Comanches were still living strictly a camp life. Where it was possible, the Indian Department had fenced the family allotments all into one enclosure or pasture, using four strands of barbed wire and posts every rod. The department had also built each family a box house—in most instances measuring fourteen by twenty-eight feet, shingle-roofed, and set on a foundation of rock piers about four feet apart.

Obviously, a family consisting of the husband, two to three wives, and several children could not live in a space that small. For spring, summer, and fall use a family would construct a brush arbor. Forked posts were cut so as to be about seven or eight feet tall when the lower end was set in the ground. Poles were laid from one fork to another, and in turn numerous cross poles were laid on them. Then a thick layer of brush with leaves was piled on the cross poles. This layer was thick enough to repel the sun's heat and shed the water from a reasonable rain. From time to time, as they were needed, additional layers of brush were applied.

This arbor served as living quarters for the family the greater part of the year. Since the sides were left open, whatever breeze there was, from whichever direction it came, was utilized. Platforms, placed on forked sticks and about three feet from the ground, served as beds.

The cooking was done on an open fire, just below the bank of a

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slough and at some distance from the arbor. Brooms made from the native broom weeds tied tightly to a stick handle, brush end down, were used to sweep the arbor and cooking area scrupulously clean; and there were surprisingly few flies around the arbor. Generally shade was available, and the eating was done under the trees, away from the arbor. Wood, of course, was the fuel for the campfire.

When the time came for the really bad weather of fall, tents were pitched. Some families still had tepee poles and canvas covering for them. The buffalo-hide coverings had been gone for a long time when I arrived on the scene. The tents and tepees, together with the house, supplied the shelter needed in truly bad weather.

I have been in and around camps many times, and on occasion have even found it necessary to stay for the night. I watched the division of labor, seeking to find a clue as to who bossed whom. I never arrived at any satisfactory answers. Apparently the husband kept hands off, and the cooking area may have been out of bounds for him. At least, he stayed clear until the call for food. I never saw any of the women seek advice from the husband while the preparation of the meal was in progress.

There were exceptions, but at the home camp the husband usually corralled the horses and roped the ones to be used. Generally one of the women would come and help him harness or saddle up. Apparently the same wife helped with the horses each time. I was never aware of an order being given. When a family was in camp on the reservation for its Grass Money, the husband ordinarily cared for the horses.

At the home camp, one or two of the squaws would take a team and the wagon into the woods for the camp's wood supply. The squaws selected the down timber and chopped it into small enough pieces so that they could load it on the wagon to be hauled to camp. In one family group, this task was permanently assigned to a wife who had been so indiscreet as to give birth to a white baby. (The displeasure was not, however, visited upon the child. Not only was it treated just the same as the other children, but at times I was inclined to think it was actually the husband's favorite.)

I never saw anything to indicate that the first or oldest wife was necessarily the favorite one, nor was I able to tell which one of the women established the division of labor. A more trained observer than I might have secured more accurate information. In any event, of these things I am sure: there was a division of labor, and each wife

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A House for Quanah Parker

In the latter part of 1883 or early in 1884, Texas cattlemen persuaded Quanah Parker, that he should have for his family a house like the ones white men lived in. This was less than ten years after Quanah had led the remnant of a once great tribe into Fort Sill to surrender to the United States Army. It never occurred to Quanah to wonder why the cattlemen could afford to build him a home or to think that it had any connection with their renting tribal grassland from him at much less than its value.

Quanah chose a site for his house on West Cache Creek, soon after the creek left the mountains. The site is about three miles northwest of present-day Cache, Oklahoma. At the time there would not have been another structure from Fort Sill west to Texas, nor from the Wichita Mountains south to the Red River, a distance of forty miles.

The lumber for the house was hauled from Wichita Falls, Texas, an overall distance of sixty miles. The forty miles from the river to the site was mostly a beautiful level to slightly rolling prairie, except for the last seven miles. There the freighters would have touched the edge of the blackjack and post oak area. This scrub timber began where Post Oak Creek was forded.

On many occasions, when I was going to the Grass Money payments, I have used the Post Oak ford the freighters probably used. These payments were often made at the reservation located just west of the town of Cache. Post Oak and West Cache occupy the same bottom in this locality, and the freighters probably stayed to the west side of West Cache.

I have driven freight wagons loaded with lumber over these same prairies, although I was hauling from Lawton instead of to Wichita Falls. I assure you it was no job for a sissy. For the last forty miles of their journey, there would not have been so much as a culvert.

The lumber for Quanah's house, according to my figures, would have made fifteen to seventeen large loads—loads that would have required four to five yoke of oxen, or three span of mules. Assuming the lumber was hauled during the dry summer season, the prairie proper would have presented no problem, as it becomes almost as hard and unyielding as a cement roadway. But the first thirty miles of the journey offered three challenges.

The first, of course, was the Red River. If you catch it at low ebb,

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30 men, 120 oxen or 90 mules, plus a cook wagon and team and two cooks. I figure twenty days for the outward part of the trip and five days to unload and return to Wichita Falls. Seven days of this time, in my opinion, would have been used up in fording the Red River. It is entirely possible that the freighters found it necessary to unload half of each wagonload for the river crossing. This would have necessitated two trips for each wagon, besides the time consumed in unloading and reloading. Nor have I made allowance for time lost because of bad weather or waiting for streams to run down. I am quite sure the freight cost was much greater than the cost of the lumber at the Wichita Falls lumberyard.

All this is hard to imagine now. When one crosses the Red River at Burkburnett, on a modern highway bridge, and sees the wide expanse of sand, he can easily visualize the freighters' problem. But when he approaches Deep Red Run on a graded and paved highway and crosses the creek itself, he will miss the drama of the undertaking entirely. The creek's watershed has been under cultivation for over half a century, and the depth of the stream's channel is now but a fraction of what it was in those days. There is no longer any evidence of the terraced canyon sides. Timber has been cut away. Even the pecan groves are gone. From the highways I have traveled recently there is no evidence of oxbow lakes. The constant flooding of the creek's bottom has evidently filled the lakes with alluvia. But sixty-odd years ago, when I was surveying from the river crossing north, I distinctly remember having spent six hours, one day, running three miles of line. I crossed Deep Red three times in the three miles. This meant climbing up and down the steep banks and wading the waist-deep red water and mud. When I was discussing my experiences in camp that night, I had to refer to my field notes to find out how many compass settings I had made in the three miles.

643 342 177 Heavy dimension lumber was used in the building of Quanah Parker's house, and it was well-constructed. Part of the house was still in use eighty years later. A few years ago the army took over the area where it stood for additional missile range, and the structure had to be moved.

Apparently Quanah left the planning of the house to his cattlemen friends, specifying only that it "face the rising sun." It was, in effect, 643 an apartment house. Each of Quanah's several wives had her separate 575 quarters, in addition to the general living area. I have never found a [177] [342]

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statement of how many wives Quanah had at the time the house was built. He had a total of seven from the time the Comanche roll was made out in the seventies until the country was opened for settlement in 1901, at which time five were still living. Prior to the time the rolls were made, he had two Mescalero Apache wives. The name of only one of these, To-ye-yeh, has survived. The two desired to return to their own people, and Quanah consented. There is no record of children born to these Apache wives. 643 595

One interesting story connected with the house is that in the early 1890s Quanah had fourteen stars painted on the roof, including two on the summer kitchen and two on the smokehouse. It seems that during an army maneuver a brigadier general stopped at the house to ask permission to cross Quanah's property. Quanah was mystified by the many stars the general displayed. There were stars on his vehicle, on a flag the vehicle carried, and on the general's collar and shoulders. When he was informed that the stars denoted the general's command of possibly three thousand troops, Quanah decided he, too, deserved some stars, for he had commanded even more warriors than the brigadier. Hence the stars on his roof. 643 342 177 531

Quanah, who was probably born around 1852, died in this house in February, 1911. To-pay was his last surviving wife. She died in 1962, when she was more than ninety years old. She is credited with having said that Quanah's greatness was not that he was able to lead his tribe in the ways of peace, but that he was able to bring about peace and harmony in a household of several wives and numerous children. 643 595

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553 562a Little significance attached to a girl's name. Often she was given a pet name by her mother at birth and probably not given a real name for several years. Once named, she carried that name for the rest of her life, even after her marriage.

115 Much of my information concerning Ca-vo-yo and name-giving came from Charley Ross, who in turn had received much of his information from his father, To-wa, and his father-in-law, Mi-he-suah, whom we called Mi-so. They and Ca-vo-yo were approximately the 726 same age, and the three had been young warriors together. Mi-so was wounded during the first charge at Adobe Walls. With a buffalo-gun slug in his abdomen he lay all day quite near the Walls without moving, knowing that should the defenders detect any movement they would finish the job. He was rescued near evening by two mounted warriors, who, riding at full speed, picked him up, laid him across the horse in front of one of the riders, and rode out of range without being hit.

552 177 Once Charley told me of a service Ca-vo-yo rendered the older Indians who knew no English. I think I remember it almost word for word, and so I will give it as a quotation. "When the white man came to live among the Comanches, here in Comanche land, he brought many things and customs the older Indians had never seen and knew nothing about. The old men went to Ca-vo-yo, and he gave them a Comanche name for each such article and custom. The words he gave them had a particular significance for the article or customs and were easily remembered."

Then Charley gave a little laugh, a sort of chuckle, and went on, "Many old Indians had never seen a completely bald man until they saw your father, so he gave him the name Ka-hait-ze Paph. *Ka-hait-ze* is 'without'; *paph* means 'hair' or 'head.'"

000 342 609 I carry three vivid mental images of Ca-vo-yo. One is really a composite image. He lived in a little T-shaped box house that sits on the east bank of West Cache Creek, right where Blue Beaver Creek adds itself to the larger stream. Soon the white people who lived to the east of the creek wanted another ford. They wanted a single ford to take the place of the fords across each creek, a mile upstream. So Ca-vo-yo allowed them to construct a ford just back of his house and only feet below the junction of the two creeks. To use this new ford you had to open and close two gates, as you let yourself through his horse corral.